

Resumo

Este artigo propõe uma investigação da história e da memória da Revolução dos Cravos a partir da arte contemporânea. Baseando-se no argumento segundo o qual a história e a memória são investigadas pelos artistas visuais através de meios diferentes, mas não menos relevantes do que aqueles a que recorrem os historiadores profissionais, este artigo argumentará no sentido do reconhecimento da importância de atentar nas formas visuais, sonoras, textuais, objectuais e investigativas através das quais artistas de várias gerações e geografias têm desvelado as histórias e as memórias reprimidas da Revolução dos Cravos em Portugal e das lutas anti-coloniais, da descolonização e dos processos de construção nacional pós-independência em Moçambique, na Guiné-Bissau e em Angola. A discussão focar-se-á em várias obras de Ângela Ferreira, mas atentar-se-á igualmente em precursores que deram imagem à Revolução, tais como Ana Hatherly, assim como a uma geração mais jovem de artistas como Filipa César, Kiluanji Kia Henda e Daniel Barroca. ●

Abstract

This article proposes an investigation of the history and memory of the Carnation Revolution through the lens of contemporary art. Drawing upon the argument according to which history and memory are investigated by visual artists by means other, but no less relevant, than those of professional historians, this article will argue for the importance of attending to the visual, auditory, textual, object- and research-based ways in which artists from several generations and geographies have been unearthing the repressed histories and memories of the Carnation Revolution in Portugal and of anticolonial struggles, decolonization and post-independence nation-building in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola. The discussion focuses on several works by Ângela Ferreira, but attention will also be paid to precursors in imaging the Revolution, such as Ana Hatherly, and to a younger generation of artists such as Filipa César, Kiluanji Kia Henda and Daniel Barroca. ●

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REVOLUTION IN CRISIS

THE RUPTURES OF REVOLUTION AND RUPTURED REVOLUTIONS THROUGH THE RUPTURES OF ARTISTIC PRACTICE

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¹ This essay was written in 2014, the year of the revolution's 40th anniversary and also a moment of economic, social and political crisis, marked by the implementation of the adjustment programme led by the European Union, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund since 2010/2011. The Carnation Revolution was a coup d'état undertaken on 25 April 1974 by officers of the Portuguese Armed Forces. Since 1961 and under the aegis of the 'Estado Novo' dictatorial regime, they had been fighting in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau to maintain these African territories as Portuguese colonies, which, at the time, were called 'overseas provinces' by the regime. Prompted by the 'colonial war' – called the 'war of national liberation' by the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau – the coup put an end to forty years of Estado Novo's fascist and colonialist rule in Portugal and was immediately embraced by the population. The independence of Guinea-Bissau was unilaterally declared in 1973, and those of Angola and Mozambique were declared in 1975. Throughout the text references to FRELIMO and PAIGC will recur: the former is the acronym for Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, led by Eduardo Mondlane until his assassination on 3

At a time of celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Carnation Revolution, looking back at 1974 acquires the poignant urgency of resisting, and imagining alternatives for, the current state of things.¹ In what ways might artistic practice and art-historical research offer new insights, relevant to critically thinking about the present, into the entangled histories and memories of the Portuguese revolution and of its links to African anti-colonialism within the arena of the global Cold War? To what extent might artistic discourse become an actual site of resistance by revisiting revolution, given the far from democratic circuits of the globalized contemporary art world and of its commoditized conditions of production and display? I shall offer an answer to the former question through the analysis of critical and imaginative interventions in and for the present by artistic archives of revolution which delve into its histories and memories, rupturing the amnesias of revolutionary achievements and possibilities without overlooking the failures. The latter question, however, will haunt these archives and my own reflections of them in the form of a permanent crisis (Derrida 1994; Marx, Engels 1992).

Drawing upon the overall argument according to which history and memory are investigated by visual artists by means other, but no less relevant, than those of professional historians, this essay will argue for the importance of attending to the visual, auditory, textual, object-, and research-based ways in which artists from several generations and geographies have been unearthing the repressed histories and memories of the Carnation Revolution in Portugal and of anticolonial struggles, decolonization and post-independence nation-building in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.² The discussion will focus on several works by Ângela Ferreira (Maputo, Mozambique, 1958), but attention will also be paid to

precursors in imaging the revolution, such as Ana Hatherly (Porto, Portugal, 1929 – Lisbon, 2015), and to a younger generation of artists such as Filipa César (Porto, Portugal, 1975), Kiluanji Kia Henda (Luanda, Angola, 1979) and Daniel Barroca (Lisbon, Portugal, 1976).

I shall be tracking shots of revolution by looking at particular sites and screens, or sites for screens – artistic sites which, through a process of film citation and collage in video, photography and text, taking place within certain spatial and material configurations, put the very notion of screen into a three-dimensional, architectural and sculptural *mise-en-abîme*, and even into a *mise-en-scène* of sorts. These are sites in which screens emerge as archives of and for revolution. They are not simply archives of and for the past, as no archive ever is – and in the same way a revolution is never simply of and for the entirely new. As Jean-Marie Straub was once heard saying on screen, ‘making a revolution also means reinstating old things (...) very old, but forgotten’ (Costa, Straub, Huillet 2004, 47, my translation).³ Elsewhere, he recalled Walter Benjamin by saying that revolution might not be ‘the forward flight towards progress’, but rather ‘a tiger’s leap into the past’⁴ – a dialectical leap, which, according to Benjamin, is revolutionary if it is charged with the ‘time of the now’ (or what he terms the *Jetztzeit*), taking place ‘in the open air of history’ rather than the arena of the ruling class, and exploding with its continuum (Benjamin 1999a, 252-253). The past is conceived by Benjamin as image, flashing up and flitting by at moments of danger – moments when the past is recognized by the present as one of its concerns, when the present wakes up to the fact that ‘even the dead will not be safe from the enemy if he wins’ (Benjamin 1999a, 247). In Benjamin’s terms, the past charged with the time of the now which makes a revolution is ‘the image of enslaved ancestors rather than that of liberated grandchildren’ (Benjamin 1999a, 252). But revolution also becomes past – which means it can also become the image that will flash up at our own moment of danger, demanding to be recognized as our pressing concern. Perhaps here Benjamin was not dialectical enough then, for the image of liberated ancestors might also rekindle revolutionary desire. In light of these ideas, the artistic archives/screens/sites of and for revolution I shall be discussing express the desire that past revolutionary presents and futures become habitable, visible and audible once again, reigniting our memories and imaginations.

The euphoric rupture of the Portuguese revolution was famously shot by Ana Hatherly’s *Revolução* (1975). The film depicts, in accelerated rhythm, the profuse inscription or ‘occupation’ of Lisbon’s façades, kept orderly clean before the 25 April, by graffiti, posters and murals of and for revolution, with renowned speeches by some of its main protagonists and the chanting of the people as soundtrack. It is a palimpsest of screens: built façade, scribbled wall, painted mural, collaged poster, ripped, covered by a new or opposite version of itself, soon to be removed again, all of this overlaid with speeches, slogans and songs, and feverishly montaged to be cinematically screened. It is no simple depiction of revolutionary joy. Though Hatherly’s aim was celebratory, her Super-8 camera did capture material ruptures pointing towards the emergence, shortly after the unanimous celebration, of clash-

February 1969, and by Samora Machel – the first president of independent Mozambique – until his death on 19 October 1986, and the latter refers to Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, led by Amílcar Cabral until his assassination on 20 January 1973.

² On the artist as historian, see Godfrey 2007. On the artist as archivist, see: Foster 2004, Balona de Oliveira 2008.

³ See also the film by Pedro Costa, *Onde Jaz O Teu Sorriso?*, 2001.

⁴ See the short film by Pedro Costa, *6 Bagatelas*, 2001.

⁵ *Rotura* was first presented in the important *Alternativa Zero* exhibition at the Galeria Nacional de Arte Moderna, in Belém, Lisbon, in 1977 and subsequently, in that same year, at Galeria Quadrum. The Quadrum version of *Rotura* was shot by Hatherly in her film with the same title, *Rotura* (1977). On Hatherly's works from this period, see also Hatherly 2004. On *Alternativa Zero* and the role of its organiser, Ernesto de Sousa, see Freitas et al. 1998, and the film *Alternativa Zero* (1977) by Fernando Curado Matos.

ing views, in the form of layer upon layer of ripped posters. She did not only shoot but also tore them – very early in the morning so as not to be seen and mistaken for a reactionary – in order to make collage surrogates of the urban surfaces of Lisbon (*As Ruas de Lisboa*, 1977). Here again the revolutionary event is represented as multifarious, complex and also incomplete, for it was those ever-present, enthusiastic and, soon after, conflicting images of revolution that the new order of things before long seemed to be endlessly trying to strip itself of. In 1992, while evoking her 1977 performance *Rotura*, meaning 'rupture', Hatherly commented that her tearing gestures embodied a sort of violence and collective anger for the rupture that had and had not taken place, and that by that time the half-destroyed posters on the streets resonated as both rupture and decadence (Hatherly 1992, 78, 76).⁵ This same disenchanted ambivalence for the post-revolutionary turn of events is visible in Ângela Ferreira's *O Estado das Coisas* (*Hotel da Praia Grande*) (2003) (fig. 1), a work in which she re-enacted celebratory gestures of revolution in the renovated modernist hotel in Sintra, Hotel Arribas, which, ruined and abandoned, had offered the perfect film set for the mournful depiction of the state of cinema in Wim Wenders' 1982 *The State of Things*. The film recounts the story of the failed shooting of the Hollywood black-and-white sci-fi film *The Survivors*, a remake of Roger Corman's film *The Day the World Ended* (1959), in what was then an empty and rather desolate Hotel Arribas at Praia Grande in Sintra. Searchers who survive without ever finding the unexposed film which, having run out, they need in order to complete the movie, the actors and the film crew are left waiting in vain, isolation and boredom, when Fritz, the director, who, non-incidentally, was reading *The Searchers* (1954) by Alan Le May, goes searching for Gordon, the bankrupt and



Fig. 1 – Ângela Ferreira, *Hotel da Praia Grande* (*O Estado das Coisas*), 2003. C-print, colour, 124 x 153 cm. Courtesy of the artist and Galeria Filomena Soares, Lisbon.

runaway producer. The film ends with the end of this search, which culminates with the deadly shooting of the two non-survivors, Fritz and Gordon.

The State of Things is a very personal film and much more about Wenders' thoughts on the state of cinema than about the aftermath of the Portuguese Revolution. But, by being shot in Lisbon and by the very way it portrays the city, its surroundings and the hotel at Praia Grande, it also speaks of the state of revolutionary and post-revolutionary things. Ferreira has commented that, for her, the desolation of this portrait became a metaphor for post-revolutionary apathy and that she wanted to look at the building again in order to see how much of the memories of the late 1970s it still retained.⁶ Her work is a counter-gesture: a critical act of remembrance of revolution on a site where she found a renovated, touristic version of alienation. But perhaps we can also look at *The State of Things* again and find that its apathy performs its own counter-gestures. Lúcia Nagib has analysed its stagnation in terms of reflexive stasis, noting how the ruined modernist architecture of the hotel, partially submersed by the ocean and described by Fritz as a sinking ship, might be considered as a critical metaphor for the failures of the capitalist conception of progress (Nagib 2014). As Nagib reminds us, Benjamin's critique of progress by means of ruins and angels appears in Wenders' *The Wings of Desire* (*Der Himmel über Berlin*, 1987) (Nagib 2014, 16; Benjamin 1999a, 249).⁷ By re-enacting gestures of revolutionary celebration, Ferreira invites us to revisit that powerful, if fleeting, moment when the collective rose against oppression. But her own isolation and the incompleteness of her gesture – her body holding onto the edge of the swimming pool with one hand, while the other stretches to offer the carnation to the opening edge of a parasol stand – also critically suggest, alongside the restored cleanliness of the modernist architecture and the quiet water screen of the full and fully functioning swimming pool, protected from the force of Wenders' waves, that the movement of that collective rising was halted. Both in Wenders' film and in Ferreira's photograph, however, some sort of search is able to disturb forgetfulness and loss without proposing progress as the alternative.

But the interwoven geographies and histories of revolution demand that the revolutionary event in south-western Europe in the 1970s opens onto the examples of the revolutionary struggles of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau from the 1960s onwards. The wars of liberation from Portuguese colonial rule became unstoppable forces unleashing not only independence and revolution in these new countries, but also revolution in the country of the colonizer. At given moments, these African revolutions set the example for the revolutionary film set or location, not only for Angolan, Mozambican and Guinean filmmakers, but also for foreign collaborators, some of whom had already contributed to the first steps of cinema in liberated zones before independence, while others moved on to the newly independent countries after filming the increasingly withered carnations. The international trajectories of solidarity with these revolutions through cinema were many, some of them involving axes of collaboration and friendship far from traversing Europe. In view of such networks, but also of the global histories of socialist movements and

⁶ See Ângela Ferreira, *Doubling the Reading*, 2008, video.

⁷ Both Nagib and I refer to that often-quoted moment in 'Theses on the Philosophy of History' when Benjamin analyses Paul Klee's *Angelus Novus* as the image of the angel of history, facing the past as 'catastrophe ... piling wreckage upon wreckage' and progress as a storm propelling him into the future (Benjamin 1999a, 249).

⁸ On Cabral see also: Sousa 2012; Tomás 2007.

revolutions in the twentieth century which, at times, offered points of reference, inspiration or departure, as soon as these particular revolutions begin to unfold on the screen, we are already looking at yet other revolutions from yet other times and places. We go back to October 1917. We may watch Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, several other independence and liberation movements sweeping across Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, May 68 Paris, Vietnam, Chile, Brazil. All along, we are reminded of apartheid South Africa. Where to begin? Where to end?

I shall be tracking shots of the Mozambican revolution through its cinema as it unfolds on Ferreira's sculptural screens. *For Mozambique* is a sculptural, video and text-based installation comprising three variations that are meant to be exhibited separately: *Model No. 1 for Screen-Tribune-Kiosk*, *Model No. 2 for Screen-Orator-Kiosk*, and *Model No. 3 for Propaganda Stand, Screen and Loudspeaker Platform*, all of them celebrating a post-independence Utopia (fig. 2). As the titles indicate, these models were inspired by three agitprop structures designed on paper by the Latvian-Russian constructivist Gustav Klucis (1895-1938) for the IV Comintern Congress and the fifth anniversary of the October Revolution in 1922. They were multifunctional, movable kiosks to be placed in the streets and included screens for film projections, tribunes for speakers, bookstands, loudspeakers and sites for posters. Many of Klucis' structures exist only as drawings, but some, and others similar to them, were built and widely used by the Russian Communist Party in the 1920s in order to mobilize public opinion in favour of the Revolution. The inclination of *Models No 1* and *No 2* cite another constructivist moment: Vladimir Tatlin's *Model for Monument to the Third International* (1920), the angle of which at 23.5 degrees from the vertical axis intended to connect the Revolution to the axis of the Earth. In Benjamin's vein, the artist becomes a producer of revolution by making use of technologies of mechanical reproduction for the people and, in Tatlin's case, even for all of humankind (Benjamin 1982; Benjamin 1999b). Like most of Klucis' models, however, Tatlin's architectural utopia was never built. But, at the same time, it is undeniable that the very vision that made it fail as built architecture lives on and continues to produce effects in unexpected ways. Significantly, without access to the image of such vision, its enduring force would perhaps have faded away.

The vision that culture was an integral part of the collective political struggle for liberation and decolonization was one of the most important contributions of thinkers and revolutionaries such as Frantz Fanon and Amílcar Cabral (Fanon 2001; Fanon 1980; Cabral 1976; Cabral 1984).⁸ The same is true for Samora Machel and FRELIMO who favoured, among other cultural expressions, cinema, radio, photography, literature, graphic design and the press as tools of liberation before and after independence (Mondlane 1995; Machel 1985). Cinema in particular was to produce an image of the people for the people. Margarida Cardoso's documentary *Kuxa Kanema: O Nascimento do Cinema (The Birth of Cinema)* (2003) – a still of which forms part of the radio tower of Ferreira's *Cape Sonnets* (2011) – narrates this story: the founding of the Instituto Nacional de Cinema (INC); the production and the exhibition of the Kuxa Kanema newsreels through mobile cinemas across the

country; the joint efforts, not devoid of difficulties at times, of Mozambican and foreign filmmakers; the return and important role of Ruy Guerra; Jean-Luc Godard and Anne-Marie Mièville's project for the creation of a new model of television; and the beginning of the end of many of these dreams when the war with Rhodesia and then South Africa seemed to require the strengthening of official Party ideology, and when Machel died in a plane crash.⁹

Ferreira's installation, as the title again indicates, is a celebration of this fleeting moment. Godard and Mièville's project, entitled *Nord contre Sud ou Naissance (de l'image) d'une nation* (1977-1978), in a counter-gesture to the racist narrative of Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), becomes visible and readable in the Klucis-

⁹ On 19 October 1986, the aeroplane in which Samora Machel was travelling from Zambia to Mozambique crashed in a mountainous area in South Africa. There have been suspicions, never confirmed, that the South African government might have been involved in the accident.



Fig. 2 – Ângela Ferreira, *For Mozambique (Model No. 1 of Screen-Tribune-Kiosk celebrating a post-independence Utopia)*, 2008. Installation view, Ângela Ferreira. *Hard Rain Show*, Museu Coleção Berardo, Lisbon, 2008. Collection Museu Coleção Berardo. Photo: Luís Colaço. Courtesy of the artist and Galeria Filomena Soares, Lisbon.

¹⁰ Jacques d'Arthuys was trained as a diplomat and travelled extensively before arriving in Mozambique in 1976 as a cultural attaché of the French embassy. Many foreign filmmakers had been in Portugal during the Carnation Revolution before travelling to newly independent Mozambique. D'Arthuys was also in Portugal at the time: after being Allende's communications advisor in Chile, he headed the French institute in Oporto (Wanono 2007; Peigne-Giuly 1995). Other members of the French group were Miguel Alencar, Philippe Constantini and Françoise Foucault, author of the workshops' photographic documentation visible in two of Ferreira's installations. They were all connected to the Comité du Film Ethnographique and the Section de Cinéma of the University Paris X, Nanterre. The UEM departments, operating under the auspices of the Instituto de Investigação Científica, were CEC, Centre for Communication Studies (Jorge Constante Pereira, João Azevedo, Bento Sitei), CEA, Centre for African Studies (Aquino de Bragança was an important figure here), and TBARN, Técnicas Básicas de Aproveitamento de Recursos Naturais (Basic Techniques for the Use of Natural Resources, fundamental in linking with rural areas and where the painter, architect and poet António Quadros was a key figure). Other Mozambican trainees were José Negrão, Stella Malta and José Baptista and another important figure among them was the American Russell Parker, who had been in Portugal collaborating with Rui Simões in *Bom Povo Português* and Thomas Harlan in *Torre Bela* (Ferreira 2013, 17-21; Gray 2007, 119-121).

¹¹ As a miners' song and dance, and in the context of apartheid South Africa where men were forced to move in order to work without being able to take their families, *Makwayela* was performed by men. In the film, there is a moment when the presence of the woman in this context of revolutionary celebration is explained by the interviewed male worker as part of the revolutionary project of equality between men and women. Surprisingly, then, she does not speak. For an example of women speaking from and of the struggle for the camera alongside men, see for example: Margaret Dickinson, *Behind the Lines*, 1971; Dickinson 2011, 129-34, 135-36.

inspired screens (Godard 1979, 70-129). But *For Mozambique* is a multifunctional and mixed-media screen where other images of revolution emerge, such as those of *Makwayela* (1977). *Makwayela* was made when, invited by the Mozambican government, Jean Rouch and a team of French filmmakers from the University of Paris X, Nanterre, including Jacques D'Arthuys and Nadine Wanono, among others, led a number of projects in collaboration with several departments of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM). The aim was to train Mozambican filmmakers, such as Arlindo Mulhovo, João Paulo Borges Coelho and Moira Forjaz, using mainly Super 8.¹⁰ Many experiments were undertaken in Maputo, but also in rural areas, where the communities would be involved in the editing and screening, while the films would circulate between communities in an exchange of several sorts of experiences and knowledge (Gray 2007, 119-121; Ferreira 2013, 17-21). In the case of *For Mozambique*, it is an urban image of the people that we are invited to revisit: the celebratory performance of the miners' song and dance, originally from the south of Mozambique, adapted by a group of glass-factory workers who had just returned from the mines in apartheid South Africa and now including the participation of a fellow woman worker.¹¹ On the other side of the screen, Bob Dylan celebrates the Mozambican revolution in the *Hard Rain* concert at Fort Collins, Colorado, in 1976, with his song *Mozambique* – another song, therefore, but now one where revolution seems to have acquired another meaning, that of the 'sunny Mozambique' on whose beach couples dance 'cheek to cheek'.¹² Despite the apparent hedonism of Dylan's lyrics, they point towards revolution beyond Party politics in a way that calls to mind the celebratory beach scenes of José Celso and Celso Luccas' 25,¹³ and the role played by music not only in this film, but also on the ground, when the Super-8 teams would call on villagers to gather around the screens by switching 'the sound system on full blast with Bob Marley' (Gray 2007, 120-121, 260; Ferreira 2013, 21). Somewhat similarly to 25, *For Mozambique* is a sort of cartography and archive of revolution imbued with polyphonic meanings – evident in the way the sound of the *Makwayela* at times becomes the soundtrack for Dylan's performance and vice-versa – stretching not only across space but also time, and returning to 1917.¹⁴

The stories recounted in the screens of *For Mozambique* were investigated further in *Political Cameras (For Mozambique series)* (2011) and in the *Studies for monuments to Jean Rouch's Super 8 film workshop in Mozambique (no. 1, 2, 3)* (2011-12). These works might be said to underscore the collaborative and communal working methods of the Super-8 workshops, which, going a long way beyond Rouch's aims, continued after he left.¹⁵ The collective films made by the political cameras of the Mozambican trainees were 'strange objects', unclassifiable because, despite foreign collaboration, their images came neither simply from outside, nor above (D'Arthuys 1980, 23; Ferreira 2013, 13-14).¹⁶ Not surprisingly, then, the objects paying tribute to these films are also strange and unclassifiable in their own way: they fictively screen the process of the workshops by illuminating their photographic documentation with flickering flashes of light – in them, the past literally flashes up, includ-

ing the image of yet another blackboard where, as opposed to the one appearing in Celso and Luccas's 25, the meaning of 'revolution' is being taught without the spelling of the word (fig. 3).¹⁷ Similarly to Godard's proposal, the Super-8 project was brought to a close by the Party in 1982 for being considered too expensive and counterproductive, but it seems that what prompted the decision was the successful heterodoxy of its grassroots developments.¹⁸

Ferreira's archives and cartographies of revolution present a visual, auditory, textual and performative complexity that seems to embody the wish to do justice to the complex temporalities and interwoven geographies of revolution and to the potential of its active remembrance. A similar, if also distinct, reinstating of very old, but forgotten things through the screening of collaborative endeavours, marked by a radically democratic conception of the people and of the making and showing of its images, might be said to be discernible in Filipa César's artistic screens which revisit the history of the Guinean revolution through its cinema.

After filming the gazing hands of the Guinean archivist Armando Lona, perusing a colonial album of the National Historical Archive in Bissau in *The Embassy* (2011), which ends by opening onto the image of revolution, found loose in between the album's last pages, of a PAIGC school in a liberated zone – an image where revolution is not devoid of contradiction –¹⁹ César made two films about another archive, whose remains she found in peril of disappearance in 2011. César's *Cuba* and *Conakry* revisit the history of the Instituto Nacional de Cinema e Audiovisual (INCA), the Film and Audiovisual National Institute of Guinea-Bissau. Founded in 1977, it holds films (which have recently gone through a process of digitization in Berlin) made before and after independence by filmmakers such as Flora Gomes, Sana Na N'Hada, and the late Josefina Lopes Crato and José Bolama Cobumba, as well as films from countries supporting the Guinean struggle, some films from Portugal and copies of films left by Chris Marker when he visited the country in 1979.

In collaboration with the Guinean filmmaker Suleimane Biai and the director of INCA, Carlos Vaz, who accompany the actress Joana Barrios in a performative reading filmed at FEZ, the former Pionierpalast Ernst Thälmann in Berlin, *Cuba* (2012) recounts, in a 16 mm sequence shot, the Guinean pre- and post-independence nation building through images and texts. These visual and auditory elements reference the international networks of socialist friendship with Cuba, notably its militant cinema, and Cabral's theories on culture and farming as a means of liberation, decolonization and socialist revolution. They hark back to 1951, when Cabral developed his agronomic theories in the Portuguese town of Cuba, in Alentejo. This was one of the regions of Portugal crying out most urgently for the agrarian revolution which never really took hold after 1974 and which became the subject of Ferreira's photographic series *Hortas na auto-estrada: jardins portugueses* (2006). Images of the Cuban filmmaker Santiago Álvarez's *Año 7* (1966) and of the unfinished film *Guiné-Bissau: 6 Anos Depois* (*Guinea-Bissau: Six Years After*), made in 1980 by Cobumba, Crato, Gomes and Na N'Hada, who Cabral had sent to Cuba to train with Álvarez at the Institute of Cinematographic Art and Industry

¹² Bob Dylan/ Bob Dylan, Jacques Levy, "Mozambique" (3.41 min.), in *Hard Rain, Bob Dylan in concert at Hughes Stadium, Fort Collins, Colorado, USA, May 23 1976*.

¹³ See José Celso Martinez Corrêa and Celso Lucas, 25, 1975, 1976/77. Celso and Luccas were members of the São Paulo-based Teatro Oficina. Exiled, they travelled to Portugal only a few months after the Carnation Revolution where they made *O Parto* (Comunidade Oficina Samba, 1975), and subsequently to Mozambique where they made 25. Besides 25 June 1975, the date of Mozambican independence, the title celebrates: 25 June 1962, the date of the founding of FRELIMO; 25 September 1964, the date of the beginning of the armed struggle; and 25 April 1974, the date of the Carnation Revolution in Portugal (Corrêa et al. 1980; Silva 2006, 52-89; Gray 2007, 83, 107-108; Gray 2011, 146-147). By means of the trope of the celebratory music and dance on the beach, I am arguing not only for the relevance of music and dance in opening up the meaning of revolution and revolutionary celebration in 25 and *For Mozambique*, but also, importantly, for the relevance of the use of different sorts of music and dance, more or less traditional, either as images of music and dance performance or as soundtrack. In 25, there are images of celebration through traditional music and dance, but several other sorts of music make up its soundtrack, from Billie Holiday to João Gilberto, Jorge Ben Jor and Ruy Mingas. In *For Mozambique*, on the other side of Dylan's concert, the performance of the *Makwayela* constitutes another example of tradition adapted for resistance and revolutionary celebration. Significantly, archival images of what seems to be the same performance of *Makwayela* filmed by Rouch and D'Arhuys also appear in 25 itself and in Cardoso's *Kuxa Kanema*. Lúcia Ramos Monteiro also inscribed *For Mozambique*, among other works, in the lineage of 25: similar to the latter, the former shows 'passages of images of passage', that is, a collection of borrowed, 'passed-on' moving images depicting the movements of revolutionary rupture and transition to independence (Monteiro 2011). Monteiro briefly discusses passages of images also in the sense of the passages of cinema to the museum and gallery space. There are three other

important meanings of passage as far as *For Mozambique* is concerned: the bodily 'passages' and movement in space the work requires of its spectator; a focus on music and dance which could translate as passages of images of celebration of the passage through the bodily 'passages' and movements of music and dance performance; finally, the passages between image and sound, evident in the very enmeshing of the sound of one side of the screen with the image of the other and vice-versa (Balona de Oliveira 2012, 236-247). In relation to the first of these three meanings, another idea of passage comes to mind, and an art-historical one – Rosalind Krauss' notion of 'passages in modern sculpture' – through which I have passed (and gone beyond) in my analysis of Ferreira's *Maison Tropicale* and *For Mozambique* (Balona de Oliveira 2012, 225-236, 246-247; see also Krauss 1981).

¹⁴ Rouch and D'Arthuys' *Makwayela* on one side, Dylan's performance of *Mozambique* on the other, and the alternating juxtaposition of the images of one and the sounds of the other, together with the realized and unrealized projects by Klucis, Tatlin, Godard and Mièville, do seem to allow for a reading of *For Mozambique* as visual, auditory, textual, formal and material palimpsest in a way that calls to mind the visual and auditory palimpsest, both transnational and trans-historical, found in 25. Both *For Mozambique* and 25 contain references to the Russian Revolution of 1917 and its political and artistic avant-gardes. In the former, this is found formally (and explicitly) in its design and inclination, and cinematically (and implicitly) in its reference to the Super 8 workshops, which included the watching of films such as Sergei Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* (D'Arthuys 1979, 54). In the latter, explicit cinematic 'citations' of Eisenstein and Dziga Vertov abound, among references to Brecht, Glauber Rocha and the group Dziga Vertov (founded in 1968 by Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin). The Angolan context (and anti-colonial friendship) also appears in the explicit musical presence of Ruy Mingas and António Jacinto's *Monangambê*, and in the implicit cinematic reference to Sarah Maldoror's *Monangambê* (1968) and Joaquim Lopes Barbosa's *Deixem-me ao menos subir às palmeiras* (1972) (Monteiro 2011). *For Mozambique* and 25 also allude to protest movements in



Fig. 3 – Ângela Ferreira, *Study for monuments to Jean Rouch's Super 8 film workshop in Mozambique (no. 2)*, 2011. Courtesy of the artist and Galeria Filomena Soares, Lisbon.

(ICAIC) in 1967, unfold on the screen behind the performers and on the screen of the performers' own bodies. In turn, they read aloud Cabral's *Estudos Agrários* and his *Weapon of Theory*, proclaimed at the Tricontinental conference in Cuba in 1966 (Cabral 1988; Cabral 1984).

The 'informative bulletin' cited by Biai from Cabral's 1951 texts, with which *Cuba ends*,²⁰ opens *Conakry* in the form of the radio broadcast of the American radio activist Diana MacCarthy, who reports on the history and state of the film archive and, together with the Portuguese writer Grada Kilomba, reads her reflections on

images of *A Semana da Informação* (*The Week of Information*). This is a soundless film, made by Cobumba, Crato, Gomes and Na N'Hada in Conakry in 1972, documenting the exhibition curated by Cabral at the Palais du Peuple, which, with visitors such as Miriam Makeba, Stokely Carmichael, Sékou and Hajia Touré, celebrated the aspirations and achievements in the liberated zones. This was a time when, the war of liberation still being fought, the socialist bright future of independent Guinea-Bissau was envisioned as not too distant (although Cabral would be murdered soon afterwards). Kilomba's words bring these events back to Portugal in order to highlight their absence, for this version of history was never part of the syllabi (fig. 4).

As in *Cuba*, in *Conakry* a 16 mm single shot travels, but now at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin, the former congress hall offered to West Germany by the US, onto whose walls images of the Palais du Peuple, the congress hall offered to Guinea-Conakry by China, were screened.²¹ The broader history of the global Cold War, as revolutionary friendship, competing ideologies and far-from-cold military conflict, has been unfolding on the background of all these screens, including the former Pionierpalast where *Cuba* was filmed.²²

Ruined and restored film screened onto ruined and restored architecture brings to mind yet another hotel, one which could not be renovated. It appeared on the sculptural screen of Ferreira's *Collapsing Structures/Talking Buildings* (2012) (fig. 5), in the same year and in the same place where *Conakry* was filmed. Ferreira's suspended sculpture, inspired by the architectural and political history of the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, that former symbol of Western so-called progress and freedom which partially collapsed in 1980 to be renovated and reopened in 1987, became a screen for the story of the Four Seasons in Maputo, left unfinished by the Portuguese in 1975, who, rumour has it, sabotaged it before leaving by pouring cement down its plumbing system. It was never inhabited and its controlled implosion took place in 2007.

Mausoleum and movie theatre, instead of congress hall and hotel, emerge as yet other instances of Cold War architecture and colonial ruin, in disparate, yet deeply relatable artistic archives and screens. The mausoleum where Agostinho Neto is supposedly buried was built in Luanda by the Soviet Union in 1981, two years after the death of Neto in Moscow.²³ Inspired by Cold War histories and fictions of space conquest and by Western antiquity myths, Kia Henda humorously turned the mausoleum into the Ícarus 13 spaceship, which, thanks to the creative efforts of a team of Angolan scientists, successfully completed man's first journey to the sun in 2006 (fig. 6). Despite obvious differences, César's filming of the *Allee der Kosmonauten* in the outskirts of Berlin with its Soviet-style social housing blocks, thus named in homage to the space travel of Sigmund Jähn and Waleri Fjodorowitsch Bykowski, might be said to tell a different chapter of the same story.²⁴ But Kia Henda's script includes other shots, such as those of the Astronomy Observatory in the Namibe desert – in fact, an abandoned movie theatre left unfinished by the Portuguese in 1975, like the Four Seasons in Maputo and the colonial architectures photographed

the US: the former, more subtly, via Dylan; the latter, quite directly, through images of the civil rights movement and the Black Panther Party, speeches by Martin Luther King and Holiday's *Strange Fruit*. Finally, both *For Mozambique* and 25 have different versions: let us not forget the former comprises three models (and two maquettes) not meant to be exhibited together, while the latter's longer version lasts for more than three hours.

¹⁵ Rouch and Godard left Mozambique around 1979, but the Super-8 project continued until 1982.

¹⁶ D'Arhuys wrote: 'Ces films sont d'étranges objets, dont les circuits de distribution ne savent que faire, faute de pouvoir les classer [...] Ainsi, ce pays, qui avait alors trois ans d'indépendance, entendait se créer de lui-même une image qui ne viendrait ni d'ailleurs ni d'en haut' (D'Arhuys 1980). According to Ferreira's research notes for *Political Cameras* taken from a conversation with João Paulo Borges Coelho in Maputo in 2010, 'The Mozambican trainees were young but they were not blank pages. Jean Rouch had his own political ambitions for the workshops but the Mozambican trainees also had their agendas' (Ferreira 2013, 17). Ferreira's engagement with Rouch's project in post-independence Mozambique began from conversations with Manthia Diawara at the time of their collaboration for her *Maison Tropicale* project (2007), in the context of which Diawara made his film *Maison Tropicale* (2008) (Bologna de Oliveira 2012, 72–76, 208–247; Bock 2007; Bock 2008). Her approach to the Super 8 workshops at the time of *For Mozambique* is naturally more indebted to Diawara, who wrote of Rouch's and Godard's short-lived projects, and to a certain extent of Guerra and the INC, in terms of failure, even if he also recognized their legacies: 'although the projects had been frustrating to Rouch, Godard, and Guerra, they had not been a total loss [...] Mozambican cinema benefited, and will continue to benefit, from the experience' (Diawara 1992, 103; see also Diawara 2003). Also, Diawara's view of Rouch's Super 8 project does not seem wholly detachable from his opinions of his earlier ethnographic films. Three years after publishing *African Cinema: Politics and Culture*, he made *Rouch in Reverse* (1995), a conversational critical homage to the filmmaker, where he

reverses Rouch's method of shared anthropology and turns him into his Parisian native informant. Gray's view on Rouch's and Godard's Mozambican projects seems slightly more nuanced, distancing itself from Diawara's 'material' pessimism without omitting the contradictions: 'These examples show the entanglements of the postcolonial to be more complicated than has often been assumed, necessitating analysis that looks beyond a narrow definition of material "results" or a clear chronology of influences and effects [...] Rouch's *cinéma vérité* morphed into something far more radical, in which the very notion of ethnographic film changed in the hands of filmmakers engaged in making a political intervention. [...] [Godard's] proposals were rejected by the State, but his ideas about how video might enable a radical democratisation of production find resonances in later projects [...] the people present at the conception of the INC had contrasting and even contradictory notions of cinema and what it could achieve in the Revolution' (Gray 2007, 104-105). From Ferreira's more in-depth and *in-loco* engagement with the complexities of the projects and their aftermaths, evident in her research notes and, I add, in her installations, it seems to me that her views have also become slightly more nuanced: *Studies for Monuments* and *Political Cameras* no longer halt failure and fall, while signalling their imminence, in the form of an inclination.

¹⁷ 25 begins and ends with images of a school in a liberated zone on whose blackboard the word 're-vo-lu-ção' is syllabically spelled by a woman. The idea of the screen as a blackboard for learning through syllabic spelling occurs visually and through voiceover in other instances of Celso and Luccas' films, such as 'Re vi ver' and 'Por-tu-gal-Bra-sil-Â-fri-ca' in *O Parto*. For lines of continuity between the end of *O Parto*, when the revolution is still an illiterate new-born child ('a revolução é uma criança analfabeta'), and the beginning and end of 25, when the revolution is taking its first steps by learning a new alphabet, including that of cinema, see Silva 2006, 65. On screen on/as blackboard, see Gray 2007, 102-103.

¹⁸ On the community activities felt by local Party hierarchies to undermine their authority, see Borges Coelho in Gray 2007, 121.



Fig. 4 – Filipa César, *Conakry*, 2012. 16 mm film transferred to video HD, colour, sound, 10'44''. Installation view, *Filipa César* – Single Shot Films, Kunstmuseum St. Gallen, St. Gallen, 2013. Photo: Sebastian Stadler. Courtesy of the artist and Cristina Guerra Contemporary Art, Lisbon.



Fig. 5 – Ângela Ferreira, *Collapsing Structures/Talking Buildings*, 2012. Installation view, *Between Walls and Windows, Architektur und Ideologie*, Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, 2012. Photo: Judith Affolter, Thomas Eugster. Courtesy of Thomas Eugster, the artist and Galeria Filomena Soares, Lisbon.

by Ferreira in her series *Casa de Colonos Abandonada* (*Abandoned Colonial House*) (2007). Kia Henda's work, which I have discussed in depth elsewhere (Balona de Oliveira, forthcoming), embodies a humorous reflection, both critical and hopeful, on what the 'Homem Novo' or New Man has become in post-Marxist and post-



Fig. 6 – Kiluanji Kia Henda, *Ícarus 13*, 2008. Installation view, 1st Bergen Assembly, Bergen, 2013. Sindika Dokolo Coleção Africana de Arte Contemporânea. Photo: Nils Klinger. Courtesy of the artist, Galeria Fonti, Naples, Galeria Filomena Soares, Lisbon.

war Angola,²⁵ as much as a critique of the violent turning of the African continent into a colonial and Cold War playground by Western and Eastern powers. Both Kia Henda in his photographic series *Balumuka* (*Ambush*) (2011),²⁶ and César in her performative video *Cacheu* (2012),²⁷ one closer, the other inevitably more distant, have harnessed the haunting which still goes on in the São Miguel Fortress in Luanda and in Cacheu in Bissau for an active work of remembrance. Both choreograph a dance of ghosts performed by the stone spectres of colonial statues: dead and yet hauntingly present; fallen from their pedestals, lying broken in graveyards of imperial debris (Stoler 2013) and yet demanding of the living the recognition of the enduring violence of their fallen gestures.²⁸

But an artistic, ethico-political harnessing of the haunting past, where ghosts speak to the present for the future, can also be performed by wordless sounds and nearly abstract images. Invisible, ghostly matter calls for a listening (Gordon 2008). If traumatic, its memory cannot be known or seen, but rather ethically sent to another (generation) and another future (Caruth 1996, 111). Daniel Barroca neither tells nor shows who exactly the gasping *Soldier Playing with Dead Lizard* (2008) is – his father, a former soldier in the Portuguese Armed Forces in Guinea-Bissau – nor does he have to.²⁹ For we already ‘know’ that, soon afterwards, this soldier will be the one holding the carnation – spectre of violence turned into friendly ghost, in all its complexity and unfulfilled blossoming haunting our future.

Despite the problems arising from the conditions of production and reception of contemporary artistic practice, not always democratic and very commoditized, it

¹⁹ *The Embassy* ends with Lona commenting on how the symbol of the Party, inscribed on the cover of the PAIGC school book being read by the students in the photo, became the symbol of the nation in an entanglement marked by ‘fusion or confusion’.

²⁰ Biai quotes the beginning of Cabral’s first paper on his agronomic studies: ‘Let no spirit be disturbed by the idea of the creation of this “informative publication”’.

²¹ The Haus der Kulturen der Welt was designed by the American architect Hugh Stubbins as the US contribution to the INTERBAU 1957, the International Building Exhibition in West Berlin. On 21 May 1980 the roof collapsed, causing one death and several injuries. The hall was rebuilt and reopened in 1987 in time for the 750th anniversary of the founding of Berlin. The HKW was founded in 1989 (Scherer 2007).

²² The former Pionierpalast (pioneer palace) Ernst Thälmann is now FEZ, the Freizeit- und Erholungszentrum. Ernst Thälman was a leader of the German Communist Party (KPD) during the Weimar Republic and was executed in the Buchenwald concentration camp in 1944. His name was given to GDR’s youth organisation, the Ernst Thälmann Pioneer Organisation.

²³ Agostinho Neto was the leader of the MPLA, Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola, between 1962 and 1979, and independent Angola’s first president. The MPLA was the Marxist-Leninist liberation movement which fought against Portuguese colonial rule beside the FNLA led by Holden Roberto and UNITA led by Jonas Savimbi. It has been in power since independence and, with the support of the Soviet Union and its allies, notably Cuba, has fought against the Zaire-supported FNLA and the US- and South Africa-supported UNITA. The Angolan civil war was a Cold War proxy conflict, having continued throughout the 1990s until Jonas Savimbi’s death in 2002. The Mausoleum underwent repair only after the end of the civil war and was officially inaugurated on 17 September 2012 in commemoration of the 90th an-

niversary of Neto's birth. See also Jo Ractliffe's photographic work *Mausoléu de Agostinho Neto* (2007) and Ondjaki 2008.

²⁴ Jähn's (the first German cosmonaut) and Bykowski's space mission, Soyuz 31, took place on 26 August 1978 and was part of Interkosmos, a Soviet space programme for collaboration with Socialist countries. Soyuz 31 was a mission to the space station Salyut 6 and intended to foster relationships between the Soviet Union and the GDR.

²⁵ This is particularly the case in the series *Redefining the Power*, part of the larger series *Homem Novo* (2009-13).

²⁶ In *Balumuka*, the statue of the Queen Nzinga, symbol of resistance to Portuguese colonialism, temporarily inhabiting the fortress where she was held captive in the seventeenth century while the Kinaxixi Square where her pedestal stands was being renovated, ambushes the male statues of colonialism and Cold-War military remnants of the civil war.

²⁷ *Cacheu* is part of the ongoing project *Luta ca caba inda* together with *Cuba* and *Conakry*, and includes fragments of Flora Gomes' *Mortu Nega* (1988) and Chris Marker's *Sans Soleil* (1983) (which itself contains footage shot by Gomes). As in *Cuba* and *Conakry*, in *Cacheu* a 16 mm single shot depicts a performative lecture and image projection. In 2014, *Mined Soil* (2012-2014) marked the culmination of the *Luta ca caba inda* project. In this film, César appears in front of the camera as the lecturer-performer for the first time.

²⁸ On hauntology and spectropoetics, see Derrida 1994. For another reading of colonial statues as haunting spectres in contemporary art, notably in Sven Augustijnen's film *Spectres* (2011), see Demos 2013. See also Alfredo Jaar's *Muxima* (2005) and Jo Ractliffe's series *Details of tiled murals at the Fortaleza De São Miguel, depicting Portuguese explorations in Africa* (2007).

²⁹ The work is an eight-channel video installation made from photographs pertaining to the war al-

is often in the moment of our aesthetic and conceptual encounter with the ruptures it performs that justice is done to the epistemic difficulty and ethico-political responsibility of facing history and memory. ●

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bum of Barroca's father, and from sounds from the audio-recorded messages his father sent to his mother during the war. The experience of having a father who fought in the war is shared by many Portuguese women and men in their thirties and forties today.

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